

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
-----202038Z 119358 /47

O R 201900Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 0459

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS
SUBJ: US-TURKISH DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT

REF: STATE 013345

1. MIDDAY, JANUARY 20, I WAS TELEPHONED BY MFA SECGEN ELEKDAG WHO CALLED TO EXPRESS SERIOUS CONCERN OVER REPORT HE HAD JUST RECIEVED FROM TURKISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON, EMBASSY MESSAGE OUTLINED AMBASSADOR ESENBEL'S CONVERSATION WITH UNDER SECRETARY HABIB REGARDING NEW ADMINISTRATION'S STANCE (REFTEL) CONCERNING THE SUBMISSION OF THE US/TURKEY DCA TO THE CONGRESS ON JAN 18. DRAWING ON PARA 3 REFTEL,BUT BEARING IN MIND INSTRUCTIONS PARA 4 REFTEL, I SOUGHT TO ALLAY ELEKDAG'S CONCERNS. HE TOOK SPECIFIC EXCEPTION TO THE CONCEPT OF A "REVIEW OF RELATED FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES" WHICH HE DECLARED WOULD BE READ BY EVERY TURK AS TYING TOGETHER THE DCA AND THE CYPRUS SITUATION WHICH HAD BEEN, AND CONTINUED TO BE, COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOT. HE ADDED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S REQUESTING CONGRESS NOT TO TAKE ANY ACTION UNTIL THIS REVIEW WAS COMPLETED WILL HAVE A VERY ADVERSE EFFECT IN TURKEY. IT WILL, HE SAID, GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT
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RPT NOT FAVOR THE DCA AND THIS WILL BE A VERY IN-AUSPICIOUS BEGINING TO THE GOT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. MOREOVER, HE ADDED, IT WILL ENHANCE THE GREEK PROCLIVITY TO STALL ON BOTH CYPRUS AND AEGEAN SITUATIONS BY REINFORCING THE GREEK CONVICTION THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WILL BE PRO-GREEK.

2. I SAID THESE COMMENTS REFLECTED A SERIOUS MIS-UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED--PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED PUBLIC STATEMENTS BOTH PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER AND SECRETARY-DESIGNATE VANCE HAD MADE IN RECENT WEEKS REGARDING US/TURKEY RELATIONSHIPS. I SUGGESTED THAT WE GO INTO THIS IN GREATER DETAIL IN THE MEETING WE HAD PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED FOR LATER THAT AFTERNOON IN ORDER TO DISCUSS OTHER MATTERS. ELEKDAG AGREED BUT EMPHASIZED THAT HE HAD NOT WANTED TO WAIT UNTIL THE MEETING, THREE HOURS HENCE, TO EXPRESS OFFICIAL GOT CONCERN OVER THIS UNFORTUNATE BEGINNING IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GOT AND THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION.

3. IN AFTERNOON MEETING (AFTER DISCUSSING NUMBER OF OTHER LESSER MATTERS BEING SEPARATELY REPORTED) ELEKDAG AGAIN RAISED GOT'S SERIOUS CONCERN OVER NEW ADMINISTRATION'S REACTION TO JAN. 18 DISPATCH TO THE HILL OF US/TURK DCA. GOT AND TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION HAD RECOGNIZED, HE SAID, THAT 1976 WAS A US ELECTION YEAR AND HAD DISPLAYED CONSIDERABLE UNDERSTANDING RE THE DELAY IN RATIFICATION OF THE DCA. THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, "NOW FULLY EXPECTS" THAT THERE WILL BE "SPEEDY, EFFECTIVE AND DETERMINED" ENDEAVOR TO GET THE DCA RATIFIED. IF THERE SHOULD BE STILL FURTHER DELAYS NOW THAT THE ELECTION AND TRANSITION PERIOD IS BEHIND US, THIS WILL, SAID ELEKDAG, BE VERY DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN IN TURKEY. THE ISSUE WILL THEN BECOME STILL FURTHER POLITICIZED HERE; SO MUCH SO, ESPECIALLY WITH 1977 BEING AN

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ELECTION YEAR IN TURKEY, THAT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO SEE WHAT THE ULTIMATE OUTCOME WILL BE.

4. FURTHER DELAY ELEKDAG WENT ON WILL DRIVE MODERATES IN THE TURKISH POLITICAL SPECTRUM TO THE SIDE OF THE EXTREMISTS, AND IT WILL MAKE THINGS INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT POLITICALLY FOR THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. SPECIFICALLY, IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF US MILITARY IN TURKEY. MUCH WAS RIDING, THEREFORE, HE SAID, ON THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S ABILITY TO GET THE DCA TAKEN UP IN THE AMERICAN CONGRESS SOON SO THAT RATIFICATION CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BEFORE IR-RETRIEVABLE DAMAGE WAS DONE TO OUR PARTNERSHIP. IT WAS THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S "RESPONSIBILITY", HE EMPHASIZED, TO MOVE ON THE DCA WITH GREAT DISPATCH IN ORDER TO SAVE THE US/TURKISH SECURITY PARTNERSHIP.

5. IF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION FAVORED THE GREEK AND TURKISH DCA'S BEING TAKEN UP BY THE CONGRESS AT THE

SAME TIME, ELEKDAG CONTINUED, THE GOT HAS NO OBJECTION.
BUT IF THE GOG PURPOSELY PROCRASTINATES IN
THE PRESENT US/GREEK NEGOTIATIONS, THEN THE GOT
BELIEVES THAT THE TURKISH DCA RATIFICATION SHOULD NOT
BE DELAYED UNTIL ITS GREEK COUNTERPART IS COMPLETED.
IT IS ESSENTIAL, HE SAID, EITHER WITH OR WITHOUT A
GREEK DCA, THAT THE US/TURKISH RATIFICATION BE ACCOM-
PLISHED IN THE NEXT TWO TO THREE MONTHS.

6. I REPEATED THAT ELEKDAG'S COMMENTS REFLECTED A
MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION, AND I COUNSELED
AGAINST GOT OFFICIALS' OVER-REACTING TO DEVELOPMENTS
OF THIS KIND TRIGGERED BY PARTICULAR ACTIONS ON THE
US DOMESTIC FRONT. WHAT WAS IMPORTANT TO BEAR IN
MIND, I EMPHASIZED, WAS NOT ONLY THE CARTER-VANCE
STATEMENTS I HAD REFERRED TO EARLIER, BUT ALSO THE
FACT THAT US/TURKISH RELATIONSHIPS WERE OBVIOUSLY
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BEING GIVEN SUCH EARLY AND HIGH PRIORITY ATTENTION
BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. I PREDICTED THAT THERE
WOULD SOON BE AN ACTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN TURKEY AND
THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND I SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD
BE PREMATURE FOR THE GOT TO REACH CONCLUSIONS BEFORE
THAT DIALOGUE HAD OPENED.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ANKARA 0459

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7. I THEN REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO ELEKDAG'S COMMENT ABOUT THE "RESPONSIBILITY" OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. I SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO REALIZE THAT WE HAD A MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY TO SALVAGE OUR RELATIONSHIP AND THAT IT WAS NOT RPT NOT ACCEPTABLE TO SUGGEST THIS RESPONSIBILITY LAY ONLY WITH THE USG. I REVIEWED THE CONCERNS OF MANY IN THE CONGRESS--CONCERNS WHICH WERE UNRELATED TO ETHNIC PRESSURES--OVER THE USE OF AMERICAN EQUIPMENT IN THE SECOND PHASE OF THE CYPRUS INTERVENTION. I RECOGNIZED, I SAID, THE STRONG GOT CONVICTION THAT THE CYPRUS AND THE DCA SHOULD BE DEALT WITH AS SEPARATE ISSUES, BUT, I EMPHASIZED, THAT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER THERE WAS A CONNECTION. WE BADLY NEEDED, THEREFORE, SOME GOT FLEXIBILITY ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE TO HELP GET CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR RESTORATION OF THE US/TURKISH PARTNERSHIP.

8. UP TO THIS POINT, OUR EXCHANGE HAD BEEN FAIRLY FORMAL WITH ELEKDAG SPEAKING FROM NOTES. HE NOW PUT HIS NOTES ASIDE TO SAY "BIL, I'M DAMNED WORRIED ABOUT THIS DEVELOPMENT". HE THEN SAID "IF WE DON'T GET THIS DCA THROUGH BOTH PARLIAMENTS SOON, THERE IS JUST NO TELLING WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE US/TURKISH PARTNERSHIP".
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I TOLD HIM CANDIDLY THAT I THOUGH HE WAS OVER-REACTING, THAT I WAS FULLY CONVINCED THAT EARLY ON THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE MAKING A SERIOUS EFFORT TO STRAIGHTEN OUT OUR RELATIONSHIP. BUT, I SAID, THE GOT HAD TO HELP TO FIND A WAY BY BEING MORE FLEXIBLE IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION.

9. IN RESPONSE ELEKDAG SAID THAT IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THE GOT REFUSES TO ACCEPT ANY CONNECTION BETWEEN CYPRUS AND THE DCA, IT DOES WANT TO FIND A WAY TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION. WE WILL TRY, HE SAID, AND IN THIS CONTEXT, HE NEXT REFERRED TO THE FORTHCOMING DENKTASH/MAKARIOS MEETING. HE SAID THAT HE ASSUMED DENKTASH WOULD BEGIN BY PROPOSING THE CYPRUS QUESTION BE NEGOTIATED BY THE TWO COMMUNITIES ON AN OPEN AGENDA. MAKARIOS WOULD THEN IN EFFECT ASK WHAT THE TURKS WOULD BE WILLING TO GIVE BACK TO THE GREEKS IN THE WAY OF TERRITORY. AT THAT POINT IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR DENKTASH TO DISCUSS PERCENTAGES, BUT, SAID ELEKDAG, IF THE USG COULD GET MAKARIOUS TO REQUEST SPECIFIC AREAS, THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD PROCEED FROM THERE.

10. OUR MEETING THEN CONCLUDED WITH MY INDICATING I

WOULD REPORT ALL THAT HE HAD SAID TO WASHINGTON. I
AGAIN COUNSELED, HOWEVER, AGAINST REACHING CONCLUSIONS
BEFORE THE GOT'S DIALOGUE WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION
HAD EVEN BEGUN. I ALSO AGAIN STRESSED THE NEED FOR TURK
FLEXIBILITY RE CYPRUS IN THE DAYS AHEAD. AS I LEFT HIS
OFFICE, ELEKDAG SEEMED TO BE SOMEWHAT REASSURED. HIS
FINAL COMMENT, HOWEVER, WAS THAT HE WAS STILL VERY
CONCERNED OVER THE ADVERSE PUBLIC REACTION WHICH WOULD SURELY
OCCUR HERE ONCE IT BECAME KNOWN THAT THE NEW ADMINIS-
TRATION HAD NOT RPT NOT MADE UP ITS MIND WITH
RESPECT TO THE MARCH 26 DCA AND AS A RESULT HAD ASKED
CONGRESS TO DEFER ACTION.
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